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692 [186] that thefts and like petty crimes increased as mutual responsibility diminished. The increasing complication of tasks and manners of livelihood led to disputes and injustices. In a nation of warriors skilled in arms, personal animosity flared up into bloodshed. Thus the tribunals mentioned had to be set up to exercise their jurisdiction in affairs of clan and tribe and to reinforce the powerful influences of public approval and disapproval. (See Plates 35, 41.)

688 775 Religious crimes, like blasphemy or robbing temples, were rare, for the disfavor of the gods brought disaster on the community and on the individual as well. Religion, however, did not enter into the field of ethics, and no post-mortem punishment awaited the sinner. Special heavens existed for warriors and for women who died in childbirth and for people who died in certain specified ways, but this belief had to do with the favor of particular gods. It was not a carefully defined system of rewards and punishment.

681 Restitution for the sinned-against was the chief basis of dealing with antisocial acts, in contrast to our pattern of punishing the sinner. Exile or death was the lot of the evildoer who endangered the community. A random sampling of crimes and punishment will show the tenor of Aztec law and why it was never necessary to resort to imprisonment as a means of enforcing expiation of a crime. Cages or detention pens, however, were used to confine prisoners before trial or sacrifice. (See Plate 34.)

685 Theft was punished either by slavery until restitution was made or by a fine of double the amount stolen, one part to the robbed, the other to the clan treasury. Highway robbery received the death penalty, and pilfering in the market place meant instant death by stoning, since that petty crime mili-

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772 ritual, since the intensely fertile Vera Cruz coast plain is the
776 actual source of the seasonal rains caused by the condensa-
823 tion of warm air when the Gulf of Mexico is exposed to the chill winds of the Central Plateau. The south was considered evil, possibly because of the arid zones south of Morelos and Puebla, but had as presiding deities gods associated with spring and flowers, Xipe (the Flayed One) and Macuilxochitl* (Five Flower). The west, however, had a favorable significance, being the home of the planet Venus, the evening star, which was associated and even identified with Quetzalcoatl (Feathered Serpent), the God of Knowledge. The north was a place gloomy and awful, presided over by Mictlantecuhtli† (Lord of the Dead), who, in one of those contradictions so frequent in Mexican theology, was sometimes connected with the south as well.[4] (See end papers.)

772 The vertical world was divided into heavens and hells
776 which had no moral significance, being merely overworlds
775 and underworlds. The number of heavens varied up to thirteen and represented the dwelling places of the gods, according to their rank in the hierarchy, the original creator living in the topmost heaven, and so on down the scale. One of these heavens belonged to Tlaloc, who received those who died by drowning, lightning or other causes connected with water. One school of thought divided the heavens into east
[821] and west, according to the passage of the sun. The east was the home of warriors, whose death in battle or sacrifice nourished the sun, and the west the home of women who died in childbirth, thus sacrificing themselves in the bearing of potential warriors.[5] (See Plate 57, bottom right.)

775 The rest of the dead passed to Mictlan, the underworld.

*Ma-kweel-sho'-chitl. †Meek-tla'n-tay-coot-li.

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They had to overcome several hazards before they could take up their life there, so they were equipped with charms and gifts for the journey, which took the sacred number of four days. The wayfarer had to travel between two mountains which threatened to crush him, avoid first a snake and then a monstrous alligator, cross eight deserts, surmount eight hills and endure a freezing wind which hurled stones and obsidian knives upon him. Then he reached a broad river which he crossed on the back of a little red dog, sometimes included in the grave furniture for the purpose. Finally arriving at his destination, the traveler offered gifts to the Lord of the Dead, who assigned him to one of nine different regions. Some versions make the dead spend a probationary period of four years in the nine hells before they take up their life in Mictlan, which was, like the Greek Hades, devoid of moral significance.*

The Aztecs, as we have said, conceived of their universe as extending horizontally outward and vertically upward and downward. The world, as horizontally divided, implied the association of divine powers with the phenomena of geography and climate. This significance of direction is a familiar religious concept. The vertical arrangement of the heavens had rather more to do with rank and order than with a realization of natural phenomena. The hierarchy of the Christian saints, with its implicit recognition of position and authority, approaches closely to the point of view with which the Aztec peoples regarded their gods. Aztec and ritualized Christian worship have much the same attitude toward distinctions between philosophy and practice, and between the point of view of the instructed theologian and the humble worshipers.

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have been an important religious center in Middle Culture times. However, neither trade nor religion broke down the sense of communal and political independence in Central Mexico. (See Plate 35, Fig. 2.)

Foreign relations centered around war, which, we have seen, was an important part of Aztec economy and religion. The same confusion of motives that we find in our modern culture affected the reasons for military action. We wage war for economic, territorial and political advantages and, while condemning the practice in our adversaries, justify our own participation by saying that we are fighting for freedom, to liberate someone, to extend civilization or to ensure peace. Soldiers on our own side are brave and attain glory, preserve our social virtues and sacrifice themselves for the public well-being. Those on the other side are aggressors, agents of evil and cowardly knaves. The Aztecs made war for defense, revenge and economic motives, which were inextricably confused with the need for the sacrificial victims requisite for proper adoration of their gods. Thus in warfare the great aim was to take captives, but behind this religious goal lurked the less holy urges of political and economic expediency.

The captive himself attained social status, since he went to a special warrior's heaven. A redoubtable Tlaxcalan chief, named Tlahuicol, was singled out for sacrifice to the sun and fought so successfully with his dummy weapons that he killed some of his adversaries and wounded a number of the others. He was pardoned and offered a chieftaincy in the Tenochcan army. Tlahuicol, however, rejected his pardon and gladly underwent sacrifice for the greater honor and glory in that death. This story illustrates the attitude of the

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727 individual warrior, which is not unlike that of the mediaeval 775 knight or career soldier in our own culture.[5] 782

721 The Aztec reasons for fighting and their social and moral 726 sanctions for war were not so very different from our own, except that we have many more, due to our superior rationalizations. The Aztec military technique, however, was definitely inferior, since it was not so completely developed a social tool as it is our own culture. The basic organization of the army required the participation of every able-bodied man under the direction of the war chief. However, as Aztec society grew more intricate and greater numbers of warriors took the field, the military structure became more rigid.

701 The unit of organization was an aggregation of twenty men, several of which were combined into larger bodies of two to four hundred, roughly corresponding to our platoons and companies. Special detachments of from four to six men, who did scouting and raiding, operated much as do the squads of our own military system. The clan commander marshaled the larger bodies, much as a colonel handles his regiment. The clan troops were banded together in four divisions under the heads of the four municipal quarters, and the tribal war chiefs had the supreme command. In a very numerous army the troops from a given quarter, or *barrio*, were sometimes divided into brigades, composed of the forces from two or three clans.[6]

The high tribal officers, the war chief, the chiefs of the quarters and the clan chiefs commanded the larger bodies. The ordinary chiefs and members of the warrior orders, the Knights of the Eagle and the Tiger and of a third infrequently mentioned order, the Arrow, according to their particular ability, took over the lesser units. In other words,

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723 pation in trade and booty far in excess of the apparent size
648 and importance of the town.[11] (See map, end papers; Plates 41, top; 42, top; 43.)

721 The purely economic and military aspects of war are as crude, when judged by our modern technical standards, as the rest of the purely mechanical aspects of Aztec life. On the other hand, the ritualistic conception of war as the earthly re-enactment of the titanic struggle between opposing forces in nature has a quality almost sublime. The political and economic frictions that brought about conflict were welcomed by the warriors as an opportunity to vibrate to the deep rhythms of nature, rhythms which met in a celestial antiphony in the Sacred War which the Sun fights each day as he, by his own death and sacrifice, ensures the life of man.

721 The War of Flowers was undertaken to satisfy this yearn-
796 ing when no active campaign was in progress. In this incongruously named ceremonial combat the best warriors from several states met in a very real battle, so that feats of arms could be accomplished and captives taken to satisfy the hunger of the gods. One famous War of Flowers was repeated for several years, and the cream of the fighting men of Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan vied with the might of Cholula, Huexotcingo and Tlaxcala. If a warrior were captured he met the most glorious of deaths in direct sacrifice to the Sun. If he lived he gained renown. If he were slain, he
● [775] was cremated, an honor reserved only for fighting men and passed on to the special heaven where warriors dwell.[12]

726 Such warfare had no place in a conflict with Europeans, but, when reduced to fighting for their bare lives against the Spaniards, the Aztecs put up one of the most desperate de-

HERE BEGINNETH THE ADDITION TO THE THIRD BOOK, CALLED THE APPENDIX, WHICH TELLETH OF THE SOULS OF THOSE WHO DIED AND OF STILL OTHER SERVICES [RENDERED] THE RULERS.[1]

NICAN VMPEOA IN IANCA, INIC EY AMOXTLI IN ICOTŌCA APENDIZ IN ITECH TLATOA IN IMANIMAOĀ IN OMICQUE. YOAN OC CEQUI IN ITLAECOLTILOCA, IN TLACATECUTL.

775 **First Chapter,**[2] which telleth of the souls of those who died, who went there to the land of the dead; and of how they were buried.

[This is] what the natives knew: the old ones and the chiefs. For all who died went to [one or another of] three places when they died.[3]

The first place was there to the land of the dead[3a] where dwelt, and was, Mictlan tecutli or Tzontemoc, and Mictecaciuatl, consort of Mictlan tecutli.

And there, to the land of the dead, went [the souls of] all of those who died here on earth, who died only of sickness—the chiefs, the vassals.

764 And when one died—man, or woman, or child—they thus prayed to him who had died, who had met his end. They spoke to him when still he lay couched and stretched out:

[761] "My son, thou hast known sorrow; thou hast suffered. Our lord hath been good to thee. For in truth here on earth the abode of all of us is not always to be, but it is only for a little time, only a moment, as we warm ourselves [in the sun]. Only through the grace of our lord do we come to know ourselves.

764 "And now, verily, Mictlan tecutli receiveth thee there—Acolnauacatl, Tzontemoc; and Mictecaciuatl. For he hath placed thee in this place; he hath pro-
775 vided thee a seat. Lo, there is the abode of all of us; there is the place where we all come to our fate—there where the earth groweth wide, where forever [all things] end.

"For thou hast removed to the abode of the dead, to the place of descent, to the end of journeys, and to the place of no outlets and no openings.[3a] For

Inic ce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa yn imanjman in miquja in vmpa via mjctlan, yoan in quenjn tocoia.

In juh qujmatia in nican tlacа in vevetque; yoan in tlatoque ca in jxquichtin miquja. Excan in vi, yn iquac miquj.

Jnic ceccan vmpa in mjctlan, auh in vncan mjctlan, vncan onoc, vncan ca mictlan tecutli, anoço Tzontemoc, yoan in Mictecaciuatl, yn icioanh mjctlā tecutli.

auh in vmpa yi, mjctlā ieuantin, in jxquichtin tlalmiqui, in çan coculiztli ic miqui in tlatoque, in maceoalti.

auh in iquac miquia in oquichtli, anoço cihuatl, anoço piltōtli. auh inic quitlatlauhtiaia in miquja, in moniquiliaia, quilhujaia, in çan oc vetztoc, in çan oc acantoc.

Nopiltze oyhjotl ticmomachiti, oticmociavilti, omitzmocnelili in totecujo, canel amo njcan tocenchan in tlaltiçpac, ca çan achitzin ca, ca çan cuel achic, ca çan titotonio ca, çan ipaltzinco titiximatico in totecujo.

auh in axcan ca omitzalmanili in mjctlan tecutli, in Aculnaoacatl in Tzotemoc, yoan in Mjctecacihoatl, ca omitzalmotetzonti, ca omjtzalmocpalti, canel vmpa tocenchan, vmpa tocenpopolivjan, vmpa tlatlalpatlaca, ca oiccen onquiz,

ca otenmovicac in quenamjcan, ximooaian in viloaian, in apochquijaoaiocā, in atlecalocan, ca ocmo ceppa miloch monecuepal ticchicoz, ca ocmo tiolla-

1. Tlacatecutl, in the Aztec column, is probably to be read Amoxcalli.
2. Not mentioned in the Appendix to Book III is the concept of a special place for women who died in childbirth. See Book IV.
3. Although Sahagún inevitably translates mictlan as inferno, the literal meaning is land or place of the dead.
3a. The terms apochquijaoaiocā and atlecalocan might literally be rendered "place without a smoke hole" and "place without a chimney." For discussion we have used toponyms.

no more mayest thou make thy return, thy way back. Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself of what thou hast left behind thee. For much time thou leavest bereft and orphaned thy children and grandchildren. Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself how they may end. We go to join with and rejoice with thee after many days."

And behold how they addressed the kin of the dead:

"My son, take to thyself and exert all thy force; apply thyself that thou take maize gruel and [thy] half-tortilla.[a] Take courage. Of what avail is what we say? Is it that [our lord] feeleth ill will toward us?—that he mocketh us? Verily, [it is that] our lord hath willed and commanded that he hath already fulfilled his office and reached his end here. What? Couldst thou in truth yet bring it about that he might borrow a little, a day, [here] on earth?

"And although thy heart and body feel affliction and pain, although it is dark there where he lieth alone and awaiteth the commandment of our lord, be of good cheer, and henceforth be sure of thy orphanhood.

"What canst thou do, that thou art bereft? My son, use all thy strength; let not thy head hang, like one in grief. For now we have come to strengthen thy heart and thy body by a little. For here is the purpose and office of motherhood, of fatherhood. For our lord hath destroyed [the household]; for thy mothers and fathers have gone, they who well uttered and recounted their consolations and lamentations. And this is enough. Thus [we who are as] thy mothers and fathers have entreated thee. Go in peace."

Then the old men whose office it was prepared the paper vestments. They shredded, cut up, and bound the paper. And when they had prepared the paper adornment, thereupon they arrayed the dead one; they flexed [his limbs]; they poured water upon his head.

They said to him: "Behold that which thou hast enjoyed, that by which thou hast lived on earth."

And then they poured a little water into a bowl, and offered it [to him], and said to him:

"Behold wherewith thou shalt travel."

Then they put [the bowl] in with him, and thereupon they bound him well; they bound firmly upon him [the wrappings for the dead]; they wrapped them round and round him and tied them firmly

matiz in monica motepotzco, in macujl in matlac, ca otiquimonjcnocauhteoac, otiquimontlacacauhteoac, in mopilhoan, in monvioan, ca ocmo tihoallamatiz y çaço quen popolivizque, ca motech tonacitivi, motech tonpachivitivi, in macujl in matlac.

Auh ixcatquj ic qujtlatlauhtiaia in mjccaoa.

Nopiltze ma ixquich xicmanili, ma ixquich motlapal xicmochivili, ma ximochicaoa, ma ticcauh yn atolatl, in tlapãqui, ma ximelaquaoa, quennel tiqujtoanj, cujx çan aca ic techcocolia, cujx çan aca ic techqueloa, ca oquimonequilti oquimjtalhuj in totecujo, ca ie vncan ca itequjuh, ca ie vncã ca itzonquçaia, quen xoconchioa in ma oc achitzin ca in ma oc cemilhujtzintli connotlanevianj in tlaltícpac.

Auh ynjn tlacuelehoutl ontoneoa, oochichinaca in moiollotzin in monacaiotzin, tlacuelehoutl ontlaioontica in vncan ontlacauhteoac, in vncan ocontlatolchiaia in totecujo, tlacuele centlamjc xoconmomachiti in jcnopilotl,

quennel timotolinja, nopiltze ma ixquich motlapal, xicmochivili, ma nocuele iuhquin tlaocoli tocontolo, ca çan nican achitzin, ic ticchicauhtivitze in moiollotzin, in monacaiotzin, ca nican popovi ixtlavi, in naniotl, in taiotl, ca otlanemiuhiantili in totecujo, ca oiaque in monanoa in motaoa, in vel quiteneoaia in vel qujpoaia in choquizio, in ixaioiotlatolli. auh ca ie ixquich, injc tzitzmotlatlauhtilia yn monaoa, in motaoa tle ticmatcatzintli.

Niman qujntlachichiviliaia yn amatlamatque, in vevetque in machiceque catca: yn amatl quixoxotlaia, quitetequja quihilpiaia. auh in oquicencauhque in amatlatqujtl, njman ie ic quichichioa in mjcqui, quicnotzttlalia, icpac conteca atl,

quilhuja. Jxcatquj yn oticmotlamachtico ino ie tinenca tlaltícpac.

auh njmã achi contonco conteca in atl, conmaca quilhuja.

Yxcatquj injc tonotlatocaz,

njman itic conaquja niman ie ic quiquiquimilca, quitetzuhquimilca, quitetzuhilpia, quicacatzilpia in mjcqui njman ie quimamaca, in iamatlatqui, auh in

[a] Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 295. This is the small child's ration as given in Codex Mendoza.

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about the dead one. Then they laid out his paper adornment in order. And when they had arranged it in order, then they gave it all to him. They placed it as an offering before him and said to him:

"Behold wherewith thou shalt pass there where the mountains come together.

"And behold how with this thou shalt pass the road which the serpent watcheth.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt pass the green lizard, the *xochitonal*.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt cross the eight deserts.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt go over the eight hills.

"Behold wherewith thou shalt travel the place of the obsidian-bladed winds."

For there, in that place, the place of the obsidian-bladed winds, it was said that all suffered much. By winds were all the obsidian blades, and stones, borne. And hence, when valiant men died, [their kin] burned all of their baskets with insignia, their shields, their obsidian-bladed swords, and all the things [which they had wrested from] their captives; and all their capes, and all their clothing of whatever sort.

Likewise, [if it were] a woman, all her baskets, her waist bands, her divided cords for holding up the textile, her skeins, her shuttles, her battens, her cane stalks, her combs—also all [this] burned with her.

It was said that they would encircle themselves [with these things] and thus be protected in the place of the obsidian-bladed winds, and not suffer greatly. And he who had nothing among his wretched belongings, who went bare, underwent much pain and suffered much in order to pass the place of the obsidian-bladed winds.

And also they caused him to carry a little dog, a yellow one; they fixed about its neck a loose cotton cord. It was said that [the dog] bore [the dead one] across the place of the nine rivers in the land of the dead.

And when Mictlan tecutli was reached, he offered up all with which they had adorned the dead ones on earth—the ceremonial papers,[6] the pine incense burners, and bundles of canes [for perfume], loose cotton thread, and red cotton thread, or his cape

ocontlamamacaque, njman ie conmaca centlamantli ixpan cõmana quilhuja. 764

Yzcatquj inic tonquiçaz in vncan tepetl imonamiquja. 764

auh izcatquj ic itla tonquiçaz in vtli quipia yn cuetl. 775

auh izcatquj iqu itlan tonquiçaz, in xoxouhquj cuezpalin in xochitonal.

auh izcatqui ynjc tocontócaz chicuey ixtlaoatl.

auh izcatquj ic tonquiçaz in chicue tiliuhcan.

Yzcatquj ic tonquiçaz in itzehecaian.

auh in vncan y, ytzehecaian, quil cenca netolinilo, muchi hecatoco in jtzli, yoan in xalterl, auh ipampa in miquja in oquichtin in jntlavizpetlacal yn jnchimal, yn jnmaquauh, yoã in ixquichtin ymalteooan, yoã in ixquich in itilma, yoan in jxquich in tlein itlatlatqui, muchipan quitlatiaia;

ça ie no ivi in cihoatl in ixquich in itana, in inenaia, yn imecamaxal, yn iquatzõ, yn ixiiouh in itzotzopaz, in ivtlauh, yn iteçacauh ytziquaoaz, no muchi ipã tlatla,

quilmach quimotenãtiz, ic mehecatzacuiliz yn itzehecaiã, amo cenca motoliniz. auh yn aq'n atle itlatquitzin içan iuh iauh, cẽca tlaihjiovia cenca motolinja, inic quiça itzehecaian.

Auh yoã centetl chichiton quivicaltia ich in coci, concozcatia potonqui icpatl, quilmach quipanaviz chicunaoapan in mjctlan.

auh in iquac onaxico in jtech mjctlan tecutli, quitlamamaca ĩ tlalticpac in tlein qujnchichivilia mimicque in evĩlotl, ocotlenamactli, yoan quiqujmiloaia acaquavitl, yoan potonqui, yoan chichilicpatl, aço ytilma, anoço ymaxtli. auh in cihoatl icue, ivipil. yoa

6. Bullock: meaning is problematical. In Seler's *Einige Kapitel* (p. 297, n. 3) this is offered: "*ocotl*—Bohrwerkzeuge, *cpl. Molina ocotlahtia*—*hacer cierto horadando*."

764 or his breech clout. And a woman, her skirt [or] her shift, and indeed all her clothing she had left they bound together.

775 And when eighty days [had passed], then they burned [these]. Likewise was this done after a year, and after two years, and after three years. And when four years had passed, [then was] the last time that they did [this].[5]

And all this, it was said, came to Mictlan tecutli. And when the four years had ended, thereupon [the dead one] went to the nine lands of the dead,[6] [where] lay a broad river.

There the dogs carried one across. It was said that whosoever came walking [to the bank] looked over to the dogs. And when one recognized his master, thereupon he came to throw himself into the water in order to carry his master across. Hence the natives took pains to keep the dogs.

And it was said that the white dogs and the black ones, those which were black, could not carry one over the river to the land of the dead. It was said that the white dog said: "I have just washed myself." And one which was black said: "I have just stained myself black." Only a yellow [one][7] could bear one across.

And there at the nine lands of the dead, the [dead] were completely destroyed.

764 And when it came to pass that [the old men] had ornamented [the dead one], then they took him to the fire. And first they slew the little dog; thereupon they burned [the dead one and the dog].

Two old sextons took great care of [the dead one]. And some of the sextons stayed singing. And when the body of [the dead one] already was burning, they took great pains with it, they kept packing it down. And the body crackled and popped, and smelled foul. And when it came to pass that they had burned it, thereupon they gathered and heaped up the coals. And they said: "Let him be bathed"; and thereupon they bathed him—they cast water upon him; they sprinkled and poured the water on him. When [the coals] grew cold, once more they gathered up the charred remains, and thereupon dug a round hole in which to place it—a pit, and this they called a cave.

in ie muchi itlatlatquj, in oquicaubteoac muchi quiquimiloa,

in iquac nappoaltica iquac tlatla, no iuh muchioaia yn iquac cexiuhtica. yoan in iquac oxiuhtica, yoan in iquac iexiuhtica: auh in iquac nauhxiuhtica ça cen in conchioa.

auh injn quilmach much itech onaci, in Mictlan tecutli: auh in otzonquiz nauhxivitl, njman ie ic iauh in chicunauhmjctlan, icac atl patlaoac,

ie vncan in tepanavia chichime, quil in aquin oquiçato ivic oalachia in chichi. auh in oquioalixima yn itecujo njman ie ic oalmomaiavi in atlan injc quipanaviz in itecujo, ipampa in njcan tlaca cenca qujnnemjtiaia in chichime.

auh quil in iztac chichi. yoã in tliltic, in tlilca quil avel tepanavia yn mjctlan, quil quitoa in iztac ca quin ononnotlapaquili. auh in tlilca quitoa ca quin ononnoçac, çan ye yio in ceci vel tepanavia.

auh in vncan chicunamjctlan 9cã ocempopolioa.

Auh in ie iuhqui yn oquicencauhque, njmã ie quivica in tleco, yoan in chchiton achto conmjctia, njman ie ic tlatla,

cenca quimocuitlavia in tlalhoaque vmentin, auh in cequjntin tlalhoaque cujcatoque: auh in iquac ie tlatla inacaio cenca qujmocuitlavia quixixiltinemj. auh in tonacaio, tzotzoioca, cuecuepoca, yoan tzoiaia: auh in ie iuhquj in ocontlatique, njmã ie ic collolalia, quitepeuhtitlalia in tlexechtli. Yoan qujtoa ma onmalti, njman ie ic caltia catequja capapachoa, capapatztza, in ocecuh, ie no ceppa collolalia in tecolli, njman ie ic tlatzataca iacaltic in quitlalia, tlatzactli,

5. Cf. also Seler: *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 144f. Olin given the priest of the underworld were a false mummy bundle of resinous wood, clothing, and a mask. Similar rites were performed for those who died far from home, or had been taken captive and sacrificed. Seler adds that if many fell in an expedition, the ruler prepared a public feast, in which there were singing and dancing in honor of the dead, and the burning of a mummy bundle, pitch, and belongings of the dead. The feast lasted four days.

6. The nine lands or regions of the dead were thought of as arranged in tiers, or layers, the ninth being the deepest. See Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, IV, pp. 17ff. The heavens likewise rose in tiers.

7. Red, according to Seler (*Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 144f.). See, however, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 298 (*gelbe*).

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[Second Chapter][1]

775 The second place [where] they went [was] there to Tlalocan. And in Tlalocan all prospered greatly; all enjoyed much wealth. Never did one suffer. Never was there lack of ears of green maize, [nor] squash, squash blossoms, heads of amaranth,[2] green *chili*, tomatoes, green beans, [nor] the Tagetes flower.

Injc vecan vilo⁊ vmpa in tlalocan. auh in tlalocan cenca netlamachtilo, cenca necuiltonolo, aic mihiiovia, aic polivi in elotl, in aiotetl, yn aioxochquiliti, in ouhtzontli, in chilchotl, i xitomatl, yn exotl, in cempoalxochitl:

And there dwelt the Tlaloca, who were like priests, the long haired ones;[3] who were like the fire priests.

auh vmpa nemj in tlaloque, iui⁊que in tlamacazque, papapacaque, iuhque in tlenamacaque catca:

766 And there went those who had been struck by thunderbolts, and those who had been submerged in the water, and those who had died in the water. And those who were leprous, or affected by venereal sickness, or by boils, or by the itch, or by sores, or by the gout; and those full of tumors, [those] they took [there], and those swollen by the dropsy,[4] [who] thus died.

auh in vmpa vi iehoantin in: viteco, yoã in ilaquilo, yoan in atlan miqui, yoan iehoantin in teococuique, yoan in nanaoati, yoan in xochicivi, yoan in xixjioti, yoan in papalani, yoan in coacivi, yoan in popoçaoalitztli quinvica, in teponaoacivi ic miquj,

These, when they died, they did not burn, but only buried. They applied liquid rubber to their faces; and with fish amaranth [paste] they covered their cheeks; and they colored their foreheads blue [with blue papers]. And they gave them [each] a paper lock of hair at the back of the head. Mountain images they placed before them. And they placed paper capes over them, and in their hands they placed for them large staves of wood.

in iehoãn jn, yn iquac miqui, amo tlatla, can quintocaia, quimixolviaia, yoan michioauhtli, incamapan conpachoca, yoan quimjxquatexoviaia, yoan quimahamacuexpaltiaia, tepeiotl, in quintlalililiaia yn imixquac: auh amatl in quinquequentiaia, yoan inmac quintequiliaia oztopil quavitl:

775 And so they said that in Tlalocan all is ever green, always in growth, always spring; it is always spring time.

iuh quitoa in tlalocan, muchipa tlacelia, muchipa tlatzmolini, muchipa xopantla tlaxopīmamanj.

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1. Chapter heading is omitted in the Nahuatl version.
2. Quelites. Bolton (*Elenco Kapitol*, p. 308) has cenecuiltonolo (Basevilaar). The corresponding Spanish text has comino de Moler.
3. Sahagún writes (Bulmado ed., II, p. 321): "Llamaba morir el señor o rey, para elegir otro semejante los ancianos que llamaban tecuhlamaque, y también los viejos del pueblo que llamaban achcacauhtin; y también los capitanes, soldados viejos de la guerra, que llamaban yaotequioque, y otros capitanes que eran principales en las cosas de la guerra, y también los sátrapas que llamaban tlenamacazque o papaquaque."
4. Identification of diseases is problematical. Bolton (*loc. cit.*) has cachexia of the genitals for *nixjoti*, skin diseases for *papalani*, tuberculosis of the lymph glands for *coacivi*, swelling of the body for *papayaoalitli*, and infectious diseases for *teponaoacivi*.

[p. 46 is blank]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Third Chapter, in which are recorded those who went to heaven.

The third place to which they went was there to the home of the sun, in heaven. Those went there who died in war, either, verily, those who died then in battle, to be despoiled there on the battlefield, where they breathed their last, where fate overtook them, or else [those who] were brought home that later they might die [as sacrifices]. Perchance [one such] was slain in gladiatorial sacrifice, or cast into the fire, or shot with arrows, or slain with pointed canes, or fought with and slain, or covered with resinous wood [to which they laid fire]. All [these] went to the home of the sun.

It was said that they dwelt where was only a place like a plain; when the sun burst forth and arose, then they shouted and cried out to it and struck their shields together. And he whose shield was pierced in perhaps two or three places could well look at the sun. And he whose shield nowhere was pierced could in no wise see the sun nor look into its face. And there, where dwelt those slain in war, [were] the *magueyes*, the thorny shrubs,[1] and clumps of mesquites. And all offerings which [the living] offered them—these they could receive; these could reach them.

And when four years had gone by, then they were changed into birds of precious feather—humming birds, flower birds,[2] yellow birds blackened about the eyes;[3] chalky butterflies, feather-down butterflies, large varicolored butterflies,[4] which sucked [honey

Jnic ey capitulo, vncã moteneoa ih aquijque via ilhujcac.

Injc Excan vilou: vmpa in ichan tonatiuh ilhujcac, ichoantin vmpa vi, in iaomiqui, in anoço vel vncan njman miquj iaoc, in iapaniocan, in vncan qujnnamoia, vncã ihiotl, quiça, vncan ii ..qujub vetzi, yn anoço çan calaquilo, i çatepan miquizque. Yn aço oooano, aço tlepantlaxo, aço tlaxichvilo, aço teoconvilo, anoço cacaliou, anoço ocopotonjlo, muchintin vi in tonatiuh ichan,

quil ça çemonoque, in canin ruhcan ixtlaoacan, in iquac in oalmomana in oalquiçaia tonatiuh, nimã quicanatza, coiovia, muchimalhuitequj, auh in aqujn ichimal, in aço vncca, anoço iexcan tlamintli vncã vel quitta in tonatiuh. auh in aqujn acan tlamintli ichimal, avel quitta in tonatiuh, avel ixco tlachia, auh yn vmpa onoĵ, in iaomjcque nequametl, tzivactli, mizquitla; auh in jxqujch yn ventli in qujnmanilia, vel quitta vel itech aci.

auh in iquac onauhxiuhtique, njmã ic mocuepa, tlaçotoome, huitzitzilti, xochitototl, totocoztli, mixtetlilcomolo, tiçapapalotl, ivipapalotl, xicalteconpapalotl, tlachichina in vmpa in monoian. youn in njcan

1. *Toiviztli*: according to Seler (*Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3-4, p. 56), it is probably a thorny plant found in the Chichimec highlands; he cites Hernández to identify it as a cactus with cylindrical stem. "It is, therefore, the ritual weapon in the hand of the god of the Otomí."

2. *Xochitototi*: Simeón (*op. cit.*) identifies it as a *cenzontle*—a bird of yellow throat, breast, and stomach. Sahagún (Rehredo ed., III, p. 184) calls it so. "*ave como flor: toma la garganta, y el pecho, y la barriga amarillos, como flor muy amarilla; toma en la cara unas rotas: toma la cabeza y espaldar y las alas y la cola, entreladas de negro y blanco; toma los pies negros.*"

3. Cf. Seler: *Einige Kapitel*, p. 382.

4. The butterflies are thus described in Seler, *loc. cit.*, and *Collected Works*, IV, p. 82. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 214) mentions *xicalpapalotl*: "*son muy pintadas de diversos colores.*"

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from the flowers] there where they dwelt. And here upon earth they came to suck [honey] from all the varied flowers—the *erythrina coralloides*,[5] the *carolines princeps*,[6] the *calliandra*.[7]

tlalticpac oallhui in quioalchichina, in jxquich nepapan xochitl in equimjtl, anoço tzonpanquavitl xilohxochitl, tlacotilohxochitl.

5. Cf. Saler, *op. cit.*, II, Pt. 1-2, p. 53, Pt. 3-4, p. 174; and *Hiuitz Kapitol*, p. 302. He says *equimitl* is the leaf of the tzompanquauitl, the *erythrina coralloides* or *coralloidendron*. Apparently it was used magically; cf. Sahagún, Lib. IX, caps. iii-iv, and Saler's translations of the Nahuatl text in Sahagún (Robredo ed., V, p. 234). Sahagún (Robredo ed., III, p. 275) writes: "*Hay también unos árboles que se plantan en las florestas que se llaman tzompanquahuitl; es árbol recidioso, tiene ramas aspeadas, tiene la copa redonda y de buen parecer; tiene unas flores que se llaman equimixóchitl; son muy coloradas y de buen parecer y no tienen olor ninguno; in hoins de este árbol se llaman equimitl.*"

6. Cf. Saler, *Hiuitz Kapitol*, *loc. cit.* In *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3-4, pp. 132-3, he defines it as "*palo de rosa*" (name in Chiapas), "*rabella de Angel*" (unknown: *calliandra*). The former is *bauhinia equestrina* K. [*Bauhinia variegata princeps* L. fil. Saler believes *xilocuchitl* is a name given two distinct flowers. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, 276) describes them as "*colorados y a manera de bolas deshiladas; hácese en una hierba que se llama xilonochitl: no son olorosas, pero son muy hermosas.*" See also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, cap. xxvii.

7. Cf. Saler, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-5. This passage is related to one in the song chanted every eight years when water tunnels were cleaned. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), V, pp. 136, 149 ff.; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book II, p. 212.

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The Wind

That which was known as [the wind] was addressed as Quetzalcoatl. From four directions it came, from four directions it traveled. The first place whence it came was the place from which the sun arose, which they named Tlalocan. This wind which came from there they gave the name of the Tlaloc wind. Little did it frighten men; lightly did it blow. With it, one could go in a canoe; with it one could land; with it one could cross the water.

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The second place whence it came [the north] was called Mictlampa; and this was named the wind from the land of the dead. This was much feared, and caused much terror. Violently did it blow, when it set in, and the canoes could not contend with it. They could not travel forward. They could not venture forth; they could not pass across; they could not get under way in the water. Rather, all the boatmen came out and left [their craft] because of fear—those who gained their livelihoods on the water, the fishermen who used nets, or who speared [the fish]. When they saw that it was Mictlampa ehecatl which arose, then they feared evil and were troubled. They hurried, hastened, and greatly quickened their pace, plying the pole—plying it rapidly. They strained their arms, that they might come out and beach [the canoe] on the shore, on the edge of the water, near the water line. And so they said: "Often it drowneth men and sinketh canoes."

The third place whence it came [the west] was known as Ciuatlampa; it was named Ciuatecayotl and Ciuatlampa ehecatl. Also it was called One Wind. or Maçaua; for it came from Maçauacan. And this one did not blow fiercely. Nevertheless, it was very cold. Men suffered much from [its] cold; they became livid and stiff from cold. It made them shiver; it was deadly. It made men tremble, shake, and quake; it exhausted them; it gave them stomach pains, or pains in the lungs, or the head. And yet, with it they could go ashore from the water. It did not frighten men nor terrify them.

And the fourth place whence came the wind [the south] was there from Uitztlampa. It was named Uitztlampa ehecatl. And this one was much feared and held in dread. All feared harm. It made men speechless with terror; it made them silent with fear. Because it blew swiftly, it frightened them greatly. They said: "When it ariseth, it uprooteth and breaketh trees: and it teareth walls to pieces—old walls

Ehecatl

Motenecoia: ic quinotzaia quetzalcoatl. Nauhcampa oallauh, nauhcampa oalitztiuh. Inic ceccan oallauh: vmpa in iquiçaiampa tonatiuh, quitoaia tlalocã: inin ehecatl, vmpa oallauh, quitocaiotiaia, tlalocaiotl: amo cẽca temauhti, amo cenca totoca, uel ipan acaltica viloa, vel ipan quixoa, in atlan: vel ipã panoa.

Inic occã oallauh, motenecoa mictlampa: auh inin motocaiotia mictlampa ehecatl. In hin uel imacaxo, uellamauhtia: cenca totoca, in icoac moquetza, amo vel quisnamiqui in acalli: amo vellauilteco, amo uel tlastlapalolo, avel istlapal viloa, auel tlanecuilolo in atlan: çan mauhcaquixoa, mauhcaquiça in tlapanauique, in atlâca, in tlâtlamâque, in tlamjnque. In oquittaque, ca mictlampa ehecatl in omoquetz: ic cenca motenmati, motequipachoa, uel motequimati, ompilcatoque, ompipilcatoque, in tlanelloa, in tequitlaneloa: vel momaquauhtilia, inic uel onquiça, onmacana atenco, atexipalco, achichiiacpa: iuh quitoa, ca miecpa, teatlanmictia, quipolactia in acalli.

Inic escan oallauh: motenecoa cioatlãpa, motocaiotia, cioatecaiotl, cioatlampa ehecatl: no quitocaiotia ce ehecatl, anoço maçaoa ipampa vmpan oalitztiuh maçaoacan. Auh in hin, amo no cenca totoca: iece cenca itztic, uel tececmjti, tepineoalti, tepinuch, tetetziliuiti, tetetzilquisti, tetzitzilquiti, teuitiioquilti, tecuecuechquiti, tecuecuechmiquiti: texillanquauhtili, teiomotlanquauhtili, tetzonteconcuh. Auh tel, uel ipan quixoa in atlan, amo temauhti, amo tẽmauizcuiti.

Auh inic nauhcampa, oallauh ehecatl, vmpa uitztlampa: motocaiotia uitztlampa ehecatl. Auh inin, cenca vel imacaxo, mimacaci: netenmacho, aoc tenaostilti, aoc tetlatolti: ipãpa cenca totoca, cenca tlamauhtia. Quitoa, in icoac moquetza: vel quitzjncoa, quipoztequi in quauitl: yoan quixixinja in tepantli, in tepançolli, in xacalli: quecatoctia in tlatzacuilli, in chinancalli. Auh in vei atl vel colinja, quiteponaçoa,

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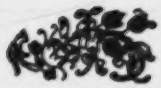

The Seventh Chapter telleth of the year counter and the year sign.

Inic chicome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in xiuhtlapoalli, in xiuhtonalli.

One Rabbit

It is said [that this was] the year sign and year counter of the south. For thirteen years it carried, set on its path, took with it, and bore the burden [of the year]. Always, during each [of the thirteen] years, it was the first, the one which led, began, made the start, and introduced as many year signs as there were: Reed, Flint, and House. Of the one [known as] Reed, it was said [that it was] as it were the sign of the east; that is, the year sign of the sun. For from there issued the light which shone forth.

And the third year sign, the one [known as] Flint, was called the sign of the north. For [the north] was said to be toward the land of the dead. Thus have the old people spoken: it is said that when one died, to that place set out, went straightway, and proceeded the dead. Therefore, when someone died—when [the sextons] adorned him, when they wrapped him in his mantle and bound him [in wrappings]—they made him look toward and seated him looking to that place.

And the fourth year sign, the fourth in order, [was] the one known as House—the sign of the west. For this reason they named it Ciuatlampa: it is said that there dwelt but women; none of us men were there.

These four year signs, year counit[ers], as many times as they came to appear, [so many times] they came to be the beginning year signs.

When all the thirteen-year [periods]—all four of them—had concluded, ended, and finished, thus proceeding around, to give and leave their works from year to year, this [last] one came to, stopped at, jogged, knocked against, and ended at Thirteen House, the sign of the west. That is, now it approached [the end of its] thirteen years of labor.

And then One Rabbit came to settle itself as the sign of the south. When this occurred and it established itself and began its work, thus to bear a year

Ce tochtli.

moteneoa: uitztlampa xiuhtonalli, xiuhtlapoalli: matlacxiuitl omei tlauica, tlaotlatoctia, tlatqui, tlamama. In muchipa cecexiuhtica, vel tlaiacatia, tlaiacana, quipeoaltia, ipeuhca muchioa, quitzintia in izquitetl xiuhtonalli in acatl, in tecpatl, in calli. In iehoatl acatl, mitoa: tlapcopa tonalli, iuhquinma, q. n. tlauilcopa xiuhtonalli: ipāpa ca umpa oalneci in tlauilli, in tlanestia. 805 823

Auh inic ei xiuhtonalli, iehoatl in tecpatl: moteneoa mictlampa tonalli, ipampa in mjtoa mictlampa: iuh quitoaia in veuetque, quilmach in icoac micoa: vmpa itztiui, vmpa tlamelaoa, vmpa tlatotoca in mimicque. Iehica, in icoac aquin miquia, in oconchichiuhque, in oconquiquimiloque, in oconiilpique: vmpa quitlachialtiaia, vmpa quitztlitimotlaliaia. [775] [764]

Auh inic naui, tlanauhcaiotia, xiuhtonalli: iehoatl in calli moteneoa, cioatlampa tonalli. Ipāpan iuh quitoaia, cioatlampa: quilmach, çan muchi cioa umpa onoque, aocaque toquichtin.

Inin nauhteme xiuhtonaltin, xiuhtlapoaltin: izquiteme ceceppa moquetztiui, tonalpeuhcaiome muchiuhtiuj. 805

Inic muchi matlatlacxiuitl omeci, quitlamja, conxitia, quitzonquistia nauhteistin: inic tlaiaoalotiui, quimomacatiui, quimocauilitiui, intequiuh, cecexiuhtica: iehoatl itech onaci, itech ōmocaoa, itech ontopi, itech ontlatzotzona, ontlatzonquistia in matlactlomei calli, cioatlampa tonalli. q. n. ie ocxiti in matlacxiuitl omei itequiuh.

Auh niman ic oalmoquetza in ce tochtli: uitztlampa tonalli. In icoac, y, moquetza, in quipeoaltia itequiuh, inic ce xiuitl tlauicaz, tlaotlatoctia: cenca 805 731

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men make certain burnś on the wrist in honor of those stars. They said of him who was not marked by those burns that, when he died, there in hell they would produce fire on his wrist, drilling it as those do who here drill fire with the stick.

maduras quando se muriese q̃ alla en el infierno avian de sacar el fuego de su moñeca barrenãdola como qñ aca sacã el fuego del palo.

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787

The star Venus these people named Citlalpol or Uey citlalin, and they said that when it riseth in the east it maketh four assaults. The [first] three times it shineth little and hideth again; and at the fourth it cometh forth with all its brightness and followeth its course. And they say of its light that it is like that of the moon. On its first assault they held it an omen of evil, saying that it brought sickness with it. And therefore they shut the doors and windows so that its light might not come in. And sometimes they took it as a good omen. And at the beginning of the time that it started to appear to the east, they slew captive men in reverence to it, and offered it their blood, spattering it toward [the star] with their fingers.

A la estrella de venus la llamaua esta gente citlalpul, vey citlalli y dezian que quando sale por el oriente haze quatro aremetidas, y a las tres luze poco y bueluese a asconder: y a la quarta sale con toda su claridad y procede por su curso. y dizen de su luz que parece a la de la luna. En primera arremetida teníanla de mal agueró diziendo que traya enfermedad contigo, y por esto cerrauan las puertas y ventanas porq̃ no entrase su luz. Y a las vezes la tomavan por buen agueró. Y al p'ncipio de tp̃o que començaua a aparecer por el oriente matauan hõbres captiuos por su reuerencia, y ofrecianle la sangre salpicando hazia ella con los dedos.

X 787 776 So he fled from its presence;, back of him it went rattling at him as it pursued him. And if he stood, if he stopped in alarm, it also sat, and remained rattling. And if he gathered courage to seize it quickly, it only mocked him for doing so. Far did it rise when it jumped; he could not catch it. Hence, in the same manner, he let it alone in his fear; from its presence he fled, exerting all force in order to run terrified to his home.

Auh intla moquetza, motilquetza, no motlalia chachalcatinemj: auh intla omoiollochichili, injc qujcujtiuetziz çan jc qujquelloa, ueca ieoa in choloa, amo uel cana: çan no iuh conmauhcacaoa: ixpampa ieoa: ixquich qujtoctia, injc monauhcatlaloa ichan.

X 787 775 Just so the dead also appeared to people. They were in [funeral] wrappings, with head wrappings, and were groaning. If, somewhere, one appeared before one, it moaned at him. Only the valiant could venture toward it in order to seize it and cling to it. But then it only made sport of them: perhaps a clump of grass or a hard clod remained in their hands. [776] Thus they quickly transformed themselves. So it was said that all this was only a disguise of Tezcatlipoca by which he mocked men. Etc.

Çan ie no iuhquj in mjcquj, no moteittitiaia: yilpitica, quaquailpitica, quiqujnacatica: in cana moteittitiaia; tequjqujnatza: çan iehoan in jollochicavaque, vel iujc motlapaloa in qujcujtiuetzi: itech mopiloa. Auh injc çan inca mocacaiaoa, aço tlachcujtl, anoço tlaquavac tetl in jmmac mocauhtiquiça: injc mocueptiuetzi: iuh mjtoa, ca çan muchi ich, inaoal in tezcatlipoca injc teca mocacaiaoaia etc.

The omen of the linnet.[4]

X 787 825 The linnet is a bird like a woodpecker,[5] and far into the forest is its home. And when it cried out at someone, it was taken as an omen.[6] They said: "It is not a good time that we have come; for something will spring out on us."

Tetzaujtl itechpa chiqujmoli.

In chiqujmoli, ca centetl totol, iuhquin quauhchochopitli: auh veca quauhtla in jchan. Auh in iỹc tepan tzatzia, netetzaujloia: qujtovaia, ca amo qualcan, in otioallaque: ca itla ipan tichoioaque.

The omen of the coyote.

[776] They said it was Tezcatlipoca. Often he disguised himself as a coyote; and this coyote often intercepted men on the road. And when he did this, then was heard: "This is by no means a good time for him who goeth; perhaps thieves or robbers are somewhere on the road, or something harmful will spring out at them."

Tetzaujtl itechpa in coiotl.

Qujtoaia, ca in tezcatlipuca: mjiecpa qujmonaoaltiaia in Coiutl: auh injn coiutl, mjiecpa teiaiacatzacujlia in vtlica. Auh in jquac iuh qujchioa y, njman ic mocaquj, ca amo qualcan in: viloa: aço ichtecque, anoço tetlatlaçaltique, cana vtlica cate: anoço itla ipan chololoaciuh, in tecoco.

Here end the omens which the natives of New Spain took as portents.

Nican tzonquiça in tetzaujl, yn qujctzommatia, njcan nueua españa tlaca.

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4. Molina, *op. cit.*: *xiquitin pauxy*: Summario, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 514 (*chiquimoli*): *jiquitlin*—*espale de jiquero*. Sahagún (Guilbert ed.), Vol. IV, p. 334: "*Ave conora, carpintería pauxy*. . . . Dryobates scalaris hasidi."

5. *Quauhchochopitli*: Martín Antonio Rancho, in Rerum *Medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus seu Plantarum Animalium Mineralium Mexicanorum Historia ex Francisci Hernandez* (Rome: Vitalis Mascardi, 1651), p. 33, appendix, book Chap. XCIV, "*De Quauhchochopitli, seu Animale ligneo cucumante*," and writes: "*Animale est, Mexicanae Cotorici forma, & magnitudine, plumis nigris, aut pullis, linea alba, transversim discurrentibus distinctis; rostro, pedibusque, minii colore. Lingua picorum more, qua rem ex specie profert. niti in frigida, & arborea rostro suspicuali petitur escamat.*"

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*los hombres del pico* [maggie]: *quando le oyan hombre en los montados.*"